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SUGGESTIONS

FOR RENDERING THE

INCLOSURE

OF

COMMON FIELDS AND WASTE LANDS

A

SOURCE

OF

POPULATION AND RICHES.

By THOMAS STONE,

LAND AND TYTHE SURVEYOR, BEDFORD.

L O N D O N:

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MDCCLXXXVII.

SUGGESTIONS

FOR REFORMING THE

INCLINATION

OF

COMMON FIELDS AND WASTE LANDS

A

SUGGESTION

FROM

THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE LANDS

—

BY THOMAS STONE

LAND AND THE SURVEYOR, BEDFORD

—

LONDON

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

AN attempt to throw new lights upon a subject of so much national importance as the present, may probably draw an imputation upon the author of either self-interest or presumption ; nor is this the only difficulty he apprehends he must encounter : various, and indeed almost innumerable, have been the publications on the subject ; whether they have been, in some instances, the result of patriotic sentiment and mature experience, or in others have been made the vehicles of prejudice, is not the present object of enquiry. It is the design of the author of the following sheets, as far as lies within the scope of his abilities, to separate fallacy from truth, and to confine himself strictly to an enquiry into the causes of the ill success which, for a series of years, has attended the inclosure of common fields and waste lands ; to correct

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abuses; to point out the means of preventing them in future; and to submit to the public eye, *Suggestions for rendering the Inclosure of Common Fields and Waste Lands a Source of Population and Riches.*

The author appeals only to the candid and impartial; for, although he means to attempt a refutation of the arguments most prevalent against inclosures, his presumption has never extended to the idea of his being able to remove prejudices deeply rooted.

The flattering reception a generous public have been pleased to bestow upon “An Essay “on Agriculture,” published by the author in the last year, has emboldened him to this undertaking; and under an impression so inspiring, he proceeds to state the following as the chief objects of present animadversion.

First, *The general state and management of common fields.*

And, secondly, *A brief description of the management of inclosures.*

As various arguments are daily used against the inclosure of common fields and waste lands, the author designs to comment upon,
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and attempt to confute, such as come immediately within his knowledge; and these are:

1st, That the quantity of arable land is diminished, and that of pasture increased, in consequence of inclosure.

2dly, That population is injured by inclosure.

3dly, That grain is of a better quality in a common field than in an inclosure.

4thly, That inclosures are frequently causes of emigration.

5thly, That small farmers are greatly injured, and the yeomanry of the country almost annihilated by inclosure.

6thly, That the prices of provisions are increased in consequence of inclosure.

7thly, That wool, the staple commodity of the kingdom, is injured by inclosure.

8thly, That if it were granted, that inclosure would be more productive than common fields, an increase of the produce of the country would have no market. And,

9thly, That the inclosure of commons and waste lands, is pernicious to society.

The author concludes by shewing, that the generality of inclosures, for thirty years past, have been mismanaged; and proposes a plan for the inclosure of common fields and waste lands, so as to render them a source of population and riches.

SUGGESTIONS, &c.

Of the general state and management of common field lands.

IT must be admitted there are but very few parishes (generally speaking) considered as totally uninclosed, or in an open-field state, which have not a cluster of small pieces of inclosure near, or adjoining to, the farm-houses in those respective parishes, by way of homestead, or stowages, for cattle employed in the cultivation of the land; or which are not applied to the purposes of shelter, and for the conveniency of foddering cattle and sheep in inclement seasons; so absolutely necessary are such inclosures considered, and no doubt they were so considered in the very

early progress of agriculture, for at this day there is scarce an instance where such inclosures are not continued.

Upon a general view of the common fields throughout this kingdom, and contemplating the extreme mixture and remote situations of the property therein, it is reasonable to believe that, in the first state of their cultivation, ploughing up a piece of ground was considered as an adventurous undertaking; when actual possession constituted the most essential part of the title to landed property, the occupant nearest to this supposed adventurer no doubt availed himself of his neighbour's experiment in cultivation, and consequently began to practise upon the nearest part of the soil to that where such experiment had been made.

This idea, though some may think it chimerical, appears to me the most probable way of accounting for the extreme mixture and inconvenient situation of the greatest part of the landed property in most common fields; from which it is evident, that no regular plan was thought of, or at least ever adopted, in laying out those fields; for it would be absurd
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to suppose, that landed property was thus mixed by experienced cultivators.

When agriculture had made some small progress, and lands were let to farm, the cultivators of the soil began to find the necessity of having a regular annual supply from their occupations, to answer the demands of the returning season; and then the plan for dividing the whole of the arable lands into three parts was first suggested; one-third part of which was annually fallowed and subdivided into two equal parts; one to be folded with sheep, and sowed with wheat; and the other part dunged and sowed with barley; or, according to the present practice in many places, one part to be folded with sheep for a barley crop, and the other dunged and sowed with wheat. In the spring following, oats were sowed upon the wheat stubbles, and peas, or beans, or a mixture of both, upon the barley stubbles; after which crops the land was fallowed again, and that part which, after the previous fallow, was folded with sheep, and sowed with wheat, was then dunged, and sowed with barley, or *vice versa*; so that the soil received the same kind of ma-

nure, and was cropped with the same kind of grain only every sixth year.

I would by no means be understood to say, that all open field land has been, or is now, managed according to this mode of cultivation; but it is the mode generally adopted upon all clayey or heavy soils, and the generality of strong loams in many counties in England; and where this system is not generally used on such land, I will venture to say, a worse is most commonly substituted for it.

This system is most departed from upon light loams, or sandy soils, where, for want of a regular plan, which can only be brought about by an inclosure, such soils are generally very weak, poor, and foul, for this evident reason, that they will not bear to be kept too much under the plough, and to receive the quick repetitions of crops, which generally fall to their share, but stand in need of being laid down with grass-feed, for two or three years, in a course of husbandry; which mode of management is incompatible with open and common field farming; for though it might appear reasonable to say, if three-fourths of the occupiers would agree to alter
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the system of management of a common field, to cultivate the land in a similar manner, and to lay down equal portions thereof, according to the quantity each respectively occupies, &c. where would be the necessity for an inclosure?

Though this is begging the question, I would in a great degree grant its effect, if practicable; but how are those three-fourths of the occupiers to be inspired with the same ideas of management? or how are many of them to be possessed of property sufficient to enable them to carry the newly-adopted scheme into execution? And though it might be said, that the present system, which I allude to, as almost universally practised in common fields, was not enforced by act of parliament, it has been established by long custom; and at this distance of time it is impossible to say what difficulties were experienced in effecting it; but the probability lies in favour of the idea that it was a long time before it arrived at the perfection in which we find it; for before a system so copious could have been established, every occupier must have felt the same impulse; and it is
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well

well known, that the jarring interests of the occupiers of a large common field must always have rendered it extremely difficult to introduce reformati^ons; for instance, the man possessed of a farm he approves, and expects to continue in, and who might be desirous of altering the courses of husbandry, by laying down part of his land, or otherwise, for the sake of future advantages to be derived to him in respect of such proceedings, differs essentially from him who means to leave his farm, and pursue present advantages only. A number of similar arguments might be adduced: notwithstanding the glaring inconveniencies which the occupiers of such common field farms experience, they ultimately fall upon the proprietors of the land, as a tenant cannot pay so much rent under disadvantages, as he can under contrary circumstances. Whole parishes, which are now, and have been for ages past, in the possession of one and the same family, or in the hands of very few proprietors (whereby the difficulty of consulting a multitude is completely obviated), either from the indolence of the proprietors, or from a blindness to their own interest,

interest, remain as mixed as when the lands belonging to the respective farms within such parishes were probably the property of fifty persons: under such circumstances, an exchange of lands amongst the occupiers, so that their farms might be laid out in larger pieces, or more contiguous than before, would be an improvement, which farmers, who understand their own interest, would gladly come into; and yet even this plan is seldom adopted, although it would most certainly answer in all cases, where it might not be adviseable to inclose*.

The inconveniencies attendant on the occupation of a common field farm are almost innumerable; the most glaring I shall venture to point out, and arrange in the following order.

1st, That even where the soil is adapted to the cultivation of turnips and artificial grasses, and where the occupiers are tempted to alter the mode of cultivation, an exclusive

* Vide an act of the thirteenth year of his Majesty's reign, for the better Cultivation, Improvement, and Regulation of the common Arable Fields, Wastes, and Commons of Pasture, in this kingdom.

right to any particular spot, without the consent of three-fourths of the occupiers and cottagers, for longer than the season in which the corn is growing, cannot be maintained; and without the consent of that portion of the occupiers, it would be impossible to derive any advantage from a crop of clover, artificial grasses, or turnips, upon a fallow; because the support of a flock of folding sheep is principally dependant upon the fallow lands, and commons intermixed therewith; wherefore any number with one-fourth of the dissentient occupiers could prevent any part of the fallow field being taken in for such purposes; so that in effect, under that circumstance, all the fallow lands must be common; and the fencing in so many small spots, in a temporary manner, in case the plan might be adopted by three-fourths of a parish (which would be found absolutely necessary in applying such turnips, clover, or artificial grasses, to the most profitable uses) would be a work of great expence and difficulty, on account of the general scarcity of hedging and other wood on common field farms.

With

With every deference and respect for the good intentions of the honourable baronet*, who was the principal mover for the act of parliament which passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, for the better Cultivation, Improvement, and Regulation of the common Arable Fields, Wastes, and Commons of Pasture, in this Kingdom, I must observe, that the operation of the bill has been extremely limited †; and it has not, either in substance or effect, in any considerable degree, liberated landed property from the shackles of partnership. Loaded as the tenures are, in common field situations, with the fetters of a number of different interests meeting in one point, the partners in the soil are stimulated by various immediate views, while each party wants sufficient

* Sir William Dolben.

† Although the author has had considerable experience in managing and letting large tracts of open common fields in several counties, he never knew an instance where either proprietors or occupiers moved for, or even mentioned, the advantages to be derived from this act of parliament; and he should have remained in ignorance of it, if he had not received a hint from his well-informed friend, Mr. Harrison, of Daventry.

power

power over his own property to enable him to pursue his direct interest; and this variety of interests may, and does, frequently proceed from the different qualities of the soil, and its different condition; so that the occupiers are like travellers on different roads to the same place of destination: but when the whole becomes liberated by inclosure, and severally laid out, all the occupiers real interests will terminate in the attainment of the great object of general good.

The mode of managing common fields, as pointed out in the bill, is the most eligible that can be devised, and it is a lamentable instance of supineness, that it has not been enforced in all possible cases; a small improvement must be undoubtedly better than total neglect, and it might be productive of good, if the act of parliament alluded to, was to be recommended to the magistrates to be read at every general quarter sessions, for the space of one year. There is, however, one clause in the act, which, in its operation, would be very detrimental to the breeding of sheep; this is, that rams shall not remain in the open common fields from August 25, to
Nov.

Nov. 25; because it is certainly clear, that if rams are not put to the ewes before Nov. 25, the lambs will be produced too late to be of sufficient age and strength to bear driving from place to place for the purpose of obtaining food for the ewes, and to be folded with them in the succeeding summer; as in that case the evil would be, that the lambs would become stunted; and where it is a practice to shear lambs, their fleeces, under this disadvantage, would not be sufficiently grown for the uses of the manufacturer, or for the tender bodies of the lambs to thrive afterwards. For these, and many other reasons, it would be advisable for the rams to be turned to the ewes before the 25th of Nov. or for the measure to be left open to the determination of the majority of the occupiers.

2dly, The inconvenience, delay, consequent expence and trouble in shifting teams and labourers from one spot to another continually; in ploughing, manuring, and all the business of an open field farm, where it is no uncommon thing to see a tenant shifting his teams, &c. from, and to, the most remote parts

parts of some hundred acres for every different land he occupies.

3dly, The mortification the best of farmers frequently experience in an open field situation, from the mismanagement of occupiers of contiguous lands, who suffer every species of weeds the soil is infested with, to seed and disseminate as spontaneously as on the most barren heaths or commons; so that whatever expence the good farmer has been at, in preparing his fallows, and weeding his crops, the end of his labour is in a great measure defeated by the plentiful production of thistles and other noxious weeds on neighbouring lands.

4thly, The loss of manure sustained by payment of tithes in *kind*, which custom mostly prevails in common fields, and indeed in many old inclosures also; however, the experience of late years has induced the promoters of most modern inclosures to make fair compromises with the clergy and other impropriators of tythes, by setting out a proportionable allotment of land for them in lieu thereof.

5thly,

5thly, That one part of a farm is sacrificed to the good of another upon almost all cold land; that is to say, no profit is derived to the farmer from the commons on which the sheep are grazed (save the manure from the folding of them), the wool and increase, at one time, being only sufficient to answer the losses at another, occasioned by the rot, scab, and other contingent misfortunes to which sheep kept in common fields are more than all others liable, from being necessarily in a cold situation when released from their fold, and in a warm one when confined there. Add to this, that when they are let out of the fold, they greedily swallow any herbage they first meet with, and after hasty falls of rain in the summer season, a watery grass is forced up, which these sheep eagerly devour, whereby whole flocks are frequently lost.

It also too often happens, that one negligent farmer's suffering his sheep to contract the scab, unavoidably communicates the evil to all the flocks in a common field.

6thly, That in consequence of grazing the commons with sheep (which bite very near
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the roots of the grafs), those commons lose all the benefit of manure, as such animals are driven to drop their excrements upon the arable land; sheep commons are therefore frequently very poor, and produce very little wholesome nourishment for the stock depasturing thereon, and of course very little useful manure for the fold.

7thly, From the mixture of stock, which must necessarily happen in a common field, a farmer is in a great measure deprived of the means of improving his breed of cattle; there not being a possibility of separating those of different ages and sorts; besides, in such situations, where clover, turnips, and artificial grasses, are not produced, nor much good hay, cattle are but indifferently wintered; and, as commons are generally poor and overstocked, it would be next to an impossibility to effect any material improvement in the breed of cattle in an open field farm.

I must here remark a very material disadvantage in the occupation of a common field farm, which is extremely well understood by practical husbandmen, *viz.*

That

That on account of the extreme mixture of land, and its general distance from a farmer's habitation, it is almost impracticable for the teams to go more than one journey *per* day at plough, otherwise the day would be chiefly spent in going to, and returning from, the work; and on that account, where only one journey *per* day can be performed, the teams are kept out too many hours to admit of very young horses at the work, and those which are thus employed are obliged to be chiefly fed and maintained upon corn; so that a considerable part of the produce of a common field farm, or what is called the breach crop, or the crop of oats and beans (which succeed wheat and barley), is eaten up by the horses employed in the cultivation of the land; among the many disadvantages of this procedure, the most striking are, that by the necessity of full-aged horses at the work, the benefit to be derived from keeping an improving stock of horses, which I have recommended in my "Essay on Agriculture," must be lost. And that by such demand for corn for working horses, the land is made to produce oats, which is detrimental to a farmer's interest,

where his principal objects are the preservation and improvement of a farm; for it must be allowed, that the land, which thus produces oats, would be best applied to the production of clover, or other artificial grasses.

8thly, A very great mischief is attendant on common field farming, which arises from the mixture of property, as to water-courses; in a furlong, field or tract of land, it often happens, that some of the farmers, through indolence, obstinacy, or private pique, neglect to cut or clear out water-courses through their particular lands, in which case others are much injured, by having the water thrown back upon them; and though such conduct is reprehensible, yet, for the sake of peace, and from an aversion to litigation, an injury of this kind is often submitted to. In common situations it often happens, that there is a brook, or rivulet, dividing parishes, or otherwise running through the open fields, the courses of which are frequently very irregular; it is no doubt necessary to keep such courses always clean and open, and in cases where parochial boundaries are not interfered with, it might be advisable to cut them straight;

straight; but whether such business centers with the inhabitants of one parish only, or affects those of another, the number of persons who must necessarily be consulted on the occasion is too frequently the cause of this business being thus neglected; and the consequence is, that those brooks, or rivulets, upon a hasty fall of rain are overflowed, from which circumstance the rot of sheep is generally contracted.

9thly, The greatest disadvantage a common field farmer labours under, is, the general necessity for fallowing one-third part of his arable land every year; in consequence of which, two years rent, and every attendant expence, must be charged on each acre of wheat and barley upon his farm; therefore each crop of wheat and barley must be equal in value to at least six times the annual rent of the land (after deducting the price of the seed), or the farmer cannot be maintained; which, for the sake of elucidation, may be thus calculated.

1st, Two years rent to the landlord.

2dly, Two years rent for the maintenance of a farmer's family.

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3dly,

3dly, Two years rent for wear and tear, and the incidental expences of cultivation, poor-rates, &c. without charging one farthing to the account of interest of a farmer's capital losses in his stock, or for the rent of the commons; a considerable part of the benefit derived from which commons is by an open field farmer (as before observed) generally sacrificed for manure for the crops of wheat. The crops of oats, beans, and peas, which generally succeed the crops of wheat and barley, are for the most part small; this may in many instances be attributed to the too quick successions of the same kinds of grain, even where the thinness of the staple, and poverty of the soil, are not the most material impediments.

Therefore, on account of one-third of a common field farm remaining in a state of fallow, and consequently unproductive every year, as well as by reason of other heavy expences heretofore pointed out, the land must be rented proportionably low; and larger quantities of land must remain in fewer hands than would be the case if the local advantages, of which the soil might be capable, were to be

be improved by an inclosure; which would enable an occupier to cultivate his land to the greatest advantage possible, and to insure himself the best-bred stock thereon; it being evident, that a farm of two hundred acres of inclosed land, properly attended to, is capable of raising stock of all kinds, both in more abundance, and of infinitely better quality, than three hundred acres of the same sort of soil in a common field state; for it is most certainly true, that upon a farm where the local disadvantages are great, the soil is frequently poor, and makes but a small return for feed, manure, and labour; a farmer must therefore occupy a larger quantity of this land, for the same degree of benefit, than he would be able to secure to himself from a less quantity of the same, which, if inclosed, would afford a more liberal return for the same degree of labour and expence.

An inclosed farm, managed to the greatest advantage it is capable of, whatever the soil may be, brings an annual crop; and, in the instance of clover, very often two crops in a year. A fallow is never necessary, except as a preparation for turnips, coleseed, and cab-

bages; and where turnips, clover, coleseed, and cabbages, are produced, an inclosure never requires folding with sheep, if an occupier takes care to cultivate his land properly by hoeing, weeding, and interweaving meliorating crops with his crops of grain; following a course of husbandry most suitable to the soil, keeping off the too quick succession of the same kinds of grain, and laying the land down with artificial grasses as they come in course, an inclosure may be kept in high cultivation, for a series of years, without its being tired of any one species of grain or herbage. A farmer, having an inclosure of different soils, may apply each to its right use. By following the mode of cultivation for which each soil is best adapted, or laying particular parts down for perpetual pasture, he can uninterruptedly improve his breed of cattle, according to his inclination or abilities. He is unfettered, and at liberty to follow up the improvements in the science wherein he is engaged, which is now established and ascertained by practical experiments; from which conduct alone, agriculture may be enabled to keep pace with manufactures and

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commerce ; and it is a truth well known to those persons perfectly acquainted with practical husbandry in several counties in England, that improvements in agriculture by no means keep pace with those in manufactures and commerce : a probable cause of which is, that an open field farmer is either totally inattentive to improvements of this nature, or should he be, or pretend to be, an advocate for them, his hands are in a great measure tied behind him ; he is, nevertheless, so bigotted to the ancient mode of field farming, that, was an inclosure of the lands in his parish to take place, he would look out for another open field situation, rather than subject himself to deviate in the least from the beaten track of his ancestors for the means of subsistence. The consequence is, a perfect stranger to both the nature and properties of the deserted soil frequently succeeds ; and his inexperience in those essential particulars probably occasions him up-hill work for some years, and, at a time when the product of the land is cheap, too often a failure. This, no doubt, proves a matter of temporary exultation to the open field bigot ; but, when such

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disadvantages are withheld, experience favours the adventurer's assiduity, and repays him four-fold for his commendable exertions.

I now enter upon an answer to the first objection in my list against the inclosure of common fields, viz.

That the quantity of arable land is diminished, and the quantity of pasture land is increased, in consequence of inclosures.

In almost innumerable instances where inclosures have taken place (and indeed the like instances must happen in future), parts of the soil, which had been continually in an arable state, being found best adapted for pasture, have been applied to that use; on the other hand, pasture land has, with similar views of improvement, been applied to the purposes of arable cultivation; the object of an inclosure being generally to enable the possessors to apply the soil to its right use, which they were unable to do in a common field state. How far success has usually accompanied such views shall be the subject of future enquiry; but it would be absurd to conclude, that, because a common field is inclosed, it should have a direct tendency to become pasture land;

land; or that the proprietor should have such a view materially in contemplation, because it is well known, and generally admitted, that the most profitable soil to inclose is a sandy or light loam, where the cultivation of turnips, clover, and other artificial grasses, can be effected with certain success. Which soil being applied to such uses, may also answer the purposes of grazing; for from the production of turnips, clover, and other artificial grasses, abundance of food for stock is produced, which generally furnishes a great quantity of rich manure for the arable land; so that the business of farming and grazing together are much more advantageously pursued than either can be to any great extent, without the other.

Such a soil will not answer the purpose of perpetual pasture any more than strong, thin-stapled clays: indeed the generality of high land is not adapted for continual pasture; and the cultivator, who attempts to make pasture land where the herbage intended to be sowed upon it will not flourish, nor perhaps exist, will of course buy his experience at a dear rate.

If

If all the land in the kingdom of Great-Britain was to be enclosed, and cultivated to the greatest advantage it is capable of, it is reasonable to conclude, the quantity of land, in a state of perpetual pasture, would not be thereby increased; inasmuch as it must necessarily happen, that a very considerable quantity of the land, which now is in a state of pasture, must be broke up, and applied to the purposes of cultivation: besides, in this country, a medium will necessarily be kept up between the value of corn and cattle; and though, from circumstances dependent in a great degree upon commerce, for a season or two either the value of corn or cattle may preponderate; yet in the average of twenty years they are, and always will be, equal.

An occupier of a farm, having it in his power either to lay down his land with grass seeds, or continue it in corn, will, when the value of corn exceeds the proportionable value of cattle, as soon as possible apply his land to the production of corn; and, *vice versa*, as to cattle.

And

And where an occupier rents a farm under stipulated covenants between him and his landlord, as to the quantity of land he shall at any time continue under the plough or otherwise, an alteration of the system would be allowed by the landlord, provided the permanent value of his estate should not be diminished by the change.

The second objection to inclosure, and what has been generally urged with much stress, is, that population is injured thereby.

In order to take the most comprehensive view of this subject, it will be necessary to have reference to the most uninclosed counties with regard to the number of inhabitants, and the purposes in agriculture wherein they are employed.

The occupation of a common field farm is generally managed by servants hired into a farmer's house; and the necessity of this is, that the labour attendant on the farm is early and late; young men, immediately under a farmer's eye in his house, who are unincumbered with any connexions abroad, are preferred; such is the practice, and such the reason generally and truly assigned for the measure.

measure. As there are no quicksets to plash, weed, or mould up, trees to preserve, wheat, peas, or beans, to drill, or in many situations no considerable quantity of turnips or beans to hoe; labourers on these accounts are unnecessary, and the chief employment of the labourers in common field situations (except only in time of harvest) is to thrash out the farmer's grain; which business being accomplished, as the summer advances, and until harvest returns, they have but little or no employment. In some counties, particularly in Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, some parts of Northamptonshire, and other counties, as hay harvest advances, the labourers proceed down to the fen counties to take mowing (and indeed it is not unusual for labourers to come out of some of the northern counties by sea for that purpose), where many of them end their miserable existence, or return with a lingering ague, to be nursed at the expence of the respective parishes to which they belong. Whether the poor rates are increased by this procedure, those who feel most sensibly the effects can best describe. And if the farmers in the most uninclosed counties

counties in England, where there are no manufactories, could get no farther assistance during their harvest than from their own inhabitants, their grain would frequently be spoiled in their fields before they could get it home: they are therefore dependent upon both the friendly aid of our brethren of a sister kingdom, and the manufacturers of this, for assistance to get in their harvest: it is therefore surely a fair inference, that the little employment, usually found for labourers in an open field is the cause of their parishes being less populous than those where inclosures prevail; for it is an established fact, that several parts of this kingdom, the most cultivated in corn, and most inclosed, are so very populous, that the harvest can be got in without any extraordinary aid. Every possible advantage may be derived from the inclosure of a soil well adapted to the purpose, with the farms laid out in different sizes; enabling men of small capitals, as well as of large, to become occupiers; and in such situations the breed of cattle is attended to; labourers are employed in hoeing turnips and beans, drilling wheat, peas, and beans; cutting, plashing, and managing

naging quicks; land-draining, and various other avocations, not much followed in a common field. Besides, in the circumstance of drilling*, children from five years old and upwards are usefully employed the most considerable part of the year; and the employment of more labourers in an inclosure, than in a common field situation, is abundantly compensated for, as by keeping the land clean, and in a high state of cultivation, it will produce an annual crop, a circumstance unknown in the generality of common fields.

The rev. Mr. Howlett, in his late publication on this subject, has taken considerable trouble to investigate it; but I cannot help remarking, that his procuring returns of baptisms, and militia recruits, from recently inclosed parishes, with a view to ascertain whether population has increased or diminished, or upon a general principle to determine whether inclosures tend to promote the good of this kingdom, is very likely to prove erroneous: nor is it the test which a subject, pregnant with so much good or evil, as the

* Vide "Essay on Agriculture," for the author's opinion of improvements in mechanics, when applied to the science of agriculture.

inclosure of commons and waste lands with respect to the community, demands.

I conceive, that the mode of investigation which this gentleman has adopted, with a view to clear up the point, may probably involve the question farther in error; for instance, if it should be proved that the soils of the respective parishes, from which his returns of population, since their inclosures, were made, are not properly cultivated, or applied to the purposes for which they are best adapted (and it is not unreasonable to conclude, that such may the case), no allowance being made by Mr. Howlett on this account, nor in fact any notice taken of it by him in his calculations; and it being highly probable, from the general bad management of late inclosures, that some of the soils of the parishes, from which the returns were made to Mr. Howlett, may be applied to the production of corn, whilst they are best adapted for pasture; in this case the returns of the increased number of inhabitants would be too large; while, on the other hand, if any considerable parts of those parishes are applied to pasture, which are better adapted for corn,

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his returns of population would be too small to form a fair and decisive opinion upon; for, in making up the mind of a sensible investigator of this subject with regard to the evil or good tendency of inclosures, he must consider, not so much the present circumstances of the case, as the future consequences; because, if it should be found, that agriculture is not arrived at the highest state of perfection in this kingdom (of which, in my own mind, I am perfectly clear), and that the generality of inclosures are mismanaged, let the cultivation of the soils be improved, and let us avail ourselves of the local advantages to be derived from inclosures, and the conclusions drawn therefrom upon the present question will be true and decisive: in short, the best ground on which to determine the question, is, a due consideration of the innumerable disadvantages to which the occupier of an open or common field farm is liable; the little money to be spared for manual labour, or the slender produce from common or waste land, to individuals, as well as to the community, in comparison with the profits to be derived from the same soils, when all such inconveniencies

conveniencies and disadvantages are removed by means of inclosure; when the cultivation of the land is improved to the utmost degree, and whilst it yields abundance to enable the occupier to discharge every obligation upon himself, and to vend such abundance at a moderate price; upon which it may seem too obvious to remark, that a better cultivation of our land will very much conduce to the increase of population, and the cheapness of the necessaries of life.

3dly, That grain is of a better quality in an open field than in an inclosure.

I admit, that in open situations, where grain has a free circulation of air through it, it is better than in more confined ones where that benefit, so essential to its health, is denied; but it is equally clear, that there is only a certain length to which this argument will go; and when as much air is produced amongst the corn as is necessary for its health, more would be superabundant.

Small inclosures, in flat situations, surrounded with a great number of trees and quicks, grown to a considerable height, certainly prevent the essential circulation of air,

and the crops of grain are often much the worse on that account; nevertheless, in such situations, although the land is let at an advanced rent, such rent is frequently paid with much more punctuality than that of an open-field farm. Many such situations occur to my recollection; and all men conversant with the different counties know, although perhaps many may be unwilling to acknowledge, the remark to be true. But inclosures happen to be made in different situations and sizes, according to circumstances, and of course land has been laid out differently; some in large pieces, some in smaller; and, when the quicks have grown up to a proper height for fences, they are commonly cut down, laid, and kept constantly so low as to be of little or no detriment to neighbouring vegetation.

Others have thought it more advisable to let the quicks grow up to a greater height, and to cut them down at a certain number of years growth, in succession, considering the quick an useful and profitable crop. Whoever finds an inconvenience from the want of a free circulation of air, on account of the height

height of the quicks, has always, or ought to have, a power to cut them down; and if their growth should be, in any case, considered as a deprivation of health to the crops, no sensible or considerate landlord would object to having them kept constantly clipped low.

An objection to the growth of timber in the inclosures might be urged upon the same principle; but such arguments have more plausibility than real force in them; and I will venture to assert, that in different parts of England, where the lands are divided into the smallest inclosures, quicked, and well timbered, the rentals are the highest, most permanently fixed, and most punctually paid.

The objection thus made to inclosures, on account of the grain being supposed to be of a worse quality there than in open fields, is in general fallacious, and bears no proportion to the innumerable advantages derivable from inclosures judiciously managed.

4thly, That inclosures are frequent causes of emigration.

Whoever draws a general conclusion, that the inclosure of common fields in any parish

is the cause of the emigration of its inhabitants, from the miscarriage of a few inclosures within their knowledge, or even from the ill success with which too many of the inclosures, that have taken place within the last sixty years, have been attended, is overhasty in his conclusions. Such persons should consider, that the inclosure of common fields will be proved to be attended with good or bad consequences to the community, in proportion to the good or bad management which is adopted on the occasion.

I admit, that within my own knowledge some instances have occurred, where inclosures have taken place, of the smallest or most inconsiderable farmers, labourers, and mechanics, having emigrated from such parishes, and retired to others not inclosed; and that the lands of such inclosed parishes have been let to fewer occupiers than before, and applied chiefly to the purposes of grazing; but a consequence no less true has followed, which is, that the views of neither the proprietors, nor occupiers, have been answered; and that, in nine instances in ten, poverty to the tenants, and disappointment to the landlords,

lords, have been the result: which has, in most cases, been attributed to the neediness or mismanagement of tenants, in not cultivating and preparing their land properly before they converted it to pasture, a want of skill in their selection of proper grass seeds adapted to the soil, and too great an eagerness to mow them before their ground was thoroughly well swarded; so that I conceive myself well justified in saying, I never found sufficient reason to condemn the inclosure of common fields, upon a general principle; nor should I in the particular instance I allude to, had they been duly managed.

Even where an inclosure should be set on foot, under every circumstance of good management, it would not be very surprising, if the lower class of inhabitants were to emigrate, from having seen the ill success, and I might add the fatal consequences (arising wholly from mismanagement), with which the inclosure of many common fields have been attended of late years; and from a kind of innate prejudice, always subsisting in their breasts, against every innovation in ancient privileges and customs, though others might

be proposed in their stead more advantageous : yet doubtless, when the good effects of such a measure begin to shine forth through the cloud of prejudice, there can be no fear of their not returning to the spot.

5thly, That the lower class of farmers have been injured, and the yeomanry of the country almost annihilated, by inclosures.

It must be admitted, that where, in consequence of inclosure, the number of farms has been reduced, and the land let out in larger farms, it has been productive of raising the rents of small farms in uninclosed parishes, and thereby dispossessing the most useful set of men in the community ; and indeed raising the rents of small farms in uninclosed situations has been attended with the same consequences, as to the annihilation of the small farmer ; because those farmers, possessed of only small capitals, have been tempted to hire their farms at more rent than they ought to pay, and to undertake the cultivation of a larger tract of land than they had the means of occupying to its full advantage, which has, in a slower degree, produced their destruction.

And

And we now see, that, in almost every common-field parish, the number of farmers has been considerably reduced within twenty or thirty years. But to other causes must be ascribed the general prevalency of this circumstance; for it is impossible so much evil can be fairly attributed to the mismanaged inclosure of a few parishes.

At present, the number of inclosures, which have taken place within the last sixty years, bears but a small proportion to the quantity of land in this kingdom, which either now remains open, or has been inclosed time immemorial.

I cannot admit that in any inclosure, fairly and judiciously made, the property of the small proprietor, or of the cottager, can be injured. On the contrary, I should rather believe, that as the rights of the smaller individual have too frequently been invaded and trampled upon by the larger, so is the property of the small occupier of a common field most likely to be eaten up, and rendered of but little value, particularly with respect to his common right; which mischief is prevented upon an inclosure, where a barrier is
set

set up against incroachments of this nature.

And those, who through prejudice are induced to say, that upon an inclosure the smaller proprietor cannot pay his quota towards the expence, without mortgaging and incumbering himself, and that often with the larger proprietors, who ultimately lay hold of the whole property, go very far indeed; for it reasonably should be allowed, that in proportion to every man's property, so ought to be his circumstances to improve and preserve it; and if, where inclosures are honestly and judiciously made, the small proprietors reap a share of the general advantages, it is but reasonable to charge them with proportionable expences.

While the manufactures and commerce of Great-Britain were advancing to the perfection they attained at the commencement of the last war, a spirit of enterprize diffused itself through all ranks and degrees of men. The husbandman felt it in his turn; it has been a common circumstance, in counties where a spirit for improvement in agriculture first broke forth, that the yeomanry,
or

or persons possessed of small estates in their own occupations, have been induced to sell them, to purchase a stock sufficient to improve larger tracts of land, the property of other persons, which they have hired upon improving leases.

Therefore, from the improvements which have been already made, it is difficult to say, which is the most independent class of people; or whether, amongst manufacturers and those in the mercantile line, men may not be found as eminently distinguished for their services and consequence to the state, as our ancient yeomanry ever were.

The principal cause of the reduction of the number of small farmers has been the inattention which the generality of gentlemen of landed property have, for many years past, paid to their own real interests. They have pursued the fallacious idea of reducing the number of buildings on their respective estates, with a view to contract their expences; by which measure they have reduced the number of their farms, and consequently the number of persons capable of becoming good tenants; and their estates have, in innumerable instances,

stances, necessarily fallen into the hands of those who are incapable, in point of property, of managing them to the greatest advantage.

6thly, That, in consequence of inclosures, the prices of provisions have increased.

Whoever candidly takes into consideration the quick and easy communication all parts of England have with the metropolis, the increased magnitude of that city, the perfection to which our manufactures have been carried within the last sixty years, the luxury of every degree of inhabitants, and the consequent increase of population, will not long be at a loss to account for the increased price of provisions, without charging much to the account of a few inclosures, injudiciously managed; whilst it is clear, to the conviction of every man of candour, who is acquainted with practical husbandry, and has lately travelled through the different parts of Great-Britain, that agriculture, in point of improvement, has not kept pace with manufactures and commerce; a great deal of this delay must be charged to the score of an advance of rents in the present age, without a general attention to the binding the occupiers

to improve the property committed to their management, and to preserve it in tenantable condition; or to gentlemen of landed property not inviting them, by example, to such improvements as might be compatible with each particular soil and situation. Instead of which, it is now a general practice, and more especially upon the major part of new inclosures, for occupiers to hold more land than they are enabled, in point of property, to stock and manage to the greatest advantage; and, in consequence thereof, they are induced to pursue their immediate interest only, by neglecting the advantages to be derived from improving the breed of cattle, and the repeated cropping of the land, without looking forward to its future condition; and to the farms being less productive, and many seeming trifles neglected, may be truly attributed a part of the causes of the present high price of provisions.

Many gentlemen of landed property do not rightly estimate the real advantages to be derived from their estates: they are generally content if their rents are punctually paid; and whilst they have no view towards the immediate

diate advance of them, the landlord and tenant go on very smoothly; and where estates are let at much less than their real value, very few incidental losses are sustained by the proprietor, and of course very few difficulties are created: but where farms are let to their full value, needy adventurers, or injudicious occupiers, sometimes get hold of them, reduce the condition of the land, and leave it for the proprietor to try his skill upon for a few years; yet most assuredly every gentleman of landed property, who is a well-wisher to his family, and to his country, whether he lets his land dear, or cheap, is so far interested in the cultivation of his estate, as to desire that its product should be the largest, and most valuable, it is capable of bearing; for as agriculture is the great foundation upon which manufactures, commerce, and every good, is to be sustained, the more abundant product of the land must go towards the reduction of the price of labour, and manufactured goods, the rates for the maintenance of the poor, and in an innumerable number of indirect channels towards the reduction of the land tax; and although the rent of a farm shall

remain

remain exactly the same as when the respective land upon which it is charged was less productive; yet, as the increase of the produce of it will be the means of reducing the price of labour, manufactured goods, and many expences ultimately charged upon the land, the proprietor's money will go the farther at market, and those advantages will operate upon the proprietors, the tenants, and the community, as an enrichment of the whole. A due attention to these hints I must recommend as the way to produce riches and prosperity to this country; and yet agriculture does not make the smallest part of the education of modern gentlemen, not even of those who ought to be most concerned for its success.

There is not a more common circumstance in England, than that upon a gentleman's arrival from his travels, and coming into possession of extensive landed property, he should be totally ignorant of its condition, and utterly unable to inform himself, from his own observations, whether the ready money put into his hands is made by honest savings from an estate improved and preserved, or whether it

has not been hoarded in a napkin, in delay of necessary repairs and improvements, from which seven-fold advantages might have been reaped. The time is not far distant, when gentlemen of landed property will feel the necessity of paying more attention than at present to this great source of national strength.

The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, in the Adelphi, however laudable their designs, will be incapable of making so rapid a progress in improvements as the country stands in need of, unless they are supported by the united efforts of all gentlemen of landed property; and to bring agriculture to the highest state of perfection it is capable of, societies must be formed by the gentlemen of each respective county, to encourage it by premiums for different classes of improvements in farming and the breeding of cattle.

I have lately perused a pamphlet, intituled, "A Political Enquiry into the Consequences of enclosing Waste Land, &c. &c. by a Society of Farmers in —shire." I will not comment on the unhandsome attack upon

upon Mr. Lampert's publication ; but confine myself to that part which relates to the present subject. An attempt is made to prove (chiefly by bold assertions), that if inclosures are proceeded farther upon, the price of butcher's meat will be at the rate of nine pence or ten pence *per* pound ; and that it is in consequence of some inclosures having taken place in this kingdom, that butcher's meat is now proportionably dearer than corn. The only seeming argument adduced in support of this doctrine is, that by inclosing commons, forests, or waste lands, which in such state are chiefly used as nurseries for the breeding and maintaining of cattle and sheep, and for which advantages little or no rent is paid by the cottagers, and the occupiers of contiguous farms, the means of raising large quantities of young cattle and sheep are in a great degree lost ; for when such lands are allotted into farms, and a rent is put upon them, it is generally too high to admit of breeding such cattle and sheep, or at any rate to afford the maintenance of them till they are four or five years old, which is the age this society seem most to approve, in order to

produce them *in perfection*. The authors endeavour to clear up their point by a calculation of the difference between the expence of keeping a sheep upon land of a pound *per* acre, and keeping one of the *same quality* upon a common for which the proprietor of the sheep pays no rent.

I believe, I have stated the chief substance of the pamphlet; and, indeed, if it had not been ushered forth under the fair colour of proceeding from a society of farmers, I should have passed it over without making any comment upon it; but knowing the importance of the subject, and at the same time how likely gentlemen are to be misled by professors of practical husbandry, when they are not well acquainted with it themselves, and yet feel how essential a knowledge of it is, to enable them to decide properly upon the present question, I could not refrain from offering a few observations, which occurred to me upon an inspection of this anonymous publication. With regard to the matter in question, it is extremely clear that cattle may be raised more cheaply upon a common which bears no rent, than the same sort of cattle
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can be raised upon the same land when it is inclosed, and a rent is put upon it before any improvements take place. But the society have made no allowances for those improvements which are extremely practicable in the breed of cattle and sheep, both as to their weight, number, and value; when a common, heath, forest, or waste land, is inclosed, and cultivated to the best advantage, no calculation is made by the ingenious gentlemen upon the extreme produce of the land in corn, fodder, hay, clover, turnips, cabbages, and cole-feed, in lieu of barren heath, or poor and overstocked commons; for these gentlemen cannot help admitting, that at the season of the year when the farmer of lands contiguous to a common turns out his stock upon it, such commons are for the most part overstocked; the consequence of which to the cottagers I have already endeavoured to point out; and which are, briefly, that at the only season of the year when a cottager can derive any advantages from a right of common, that is, from May to August, such commons are eaten up by the farmers of con-

tiguous lands: here I must refer to the position adopted by the society, *viz.*

“That it is not the *plenty* or *scarcity* which
 “makes an article dear for a long continuance
 “of time, because the price depends on the
 “necessary charges and expences in the pro-
 “duction of it.” The argument adopted by
 the society to elucidate this position, is, that
 the “*little*” the cattle get to sustain them
 upon commons is not paid for, and therefore
 the owners can afford to sell them cheaper
 than if they had paid for their food, either by
 the way of rent of land, or by any other
 means.

If we consider all the land of this kingdom
 as a common stock, for the support of the
 community, as, no doubt, generally speak-
 ing, it is; it is no less true, that whatever
 parts are best cultivated, and most fruitful,
 contribute most to general advantage; and, by
 parity of reasoning, those parts which are
 uncultivated, and consequently least pro-
 ductive, contribute least to general utility:
 gentlemen, who are possessed of common
 rights annexed to their estates, do not often
 find it worth while to put any rent upon
 them,

them, and therefore common rights have but little, if any, rent paid for them, as being generally overstocked, and in moist situations they stand in need of draining (for what is every person's business to perform is generally left undone); and, from every species of neglect in their cultivation, are commonly unproductive; not so much from the nature of the soils, as from the mode of using them. And when we consider the diminutive carcasses, and of course the little value, of sheep that barely get a subsistence upon such commons, and by being thus badly kept become stunted and unthrifty in their natures; what value can be put upon a common only applied to their maintenance? But the society are pleased to remark, that if, “from whatever cause it happens, sheep supported upon a common are destroyed, no one is a loser by it, as they are bred and maintained upon land which bears no rent.” The society seem to ground this notion upon a calculation of the expence of producing neat cattle and sheep upon inclosed land, which is charged with the payment of rent; but it is obvious, that such charge of rent is urged as a consi-

deration for the expences attendant upon the inclosure, and other local advantages; and though in many instances short-sighted proprietors strain rents in such situations much too high, they are themselves ultimately the greatest losers; therefore such instances cannot be adduced even as auxiliary to the forming of a general conclusion, that inclosures are detrimental to the kingdom. It cannot be denied, that when a common, for which no rent has been paid, is brought into a state of cultivation which the soil may be best adapted for, and cattle are produced of a more heavy and thrifty nature, that such soil is more valuable to the occupier, than it was before the inclosure took place; and therefore the proprietor ought to reap a fair share of such enrichment; or, on the other hand, should any particular common, upon which cattle have been depastured, upon an inclosure be applied to the production of corn, I must again observe, that the more the country is cultivated, and the more the different soils are applied to the uses for which they are best adapted, the more regular will be the parity between the value of corn and cattle; for

for this evident reason, that, when such improvements take place, land will not be continued in pasture which is better adapted for ploughing, nor will land be continued in an arable state which is better adapted for pasture; and whenever the value of cattle shall for any considerable time exceed the proportionable value of corn (as I have had occasion before to remark), occupiers of arable land will cultivate artificial grasses for the purposes of pasture, on which they will breed and maintain sheep and neat cattle.

As to the expence of managing inclosures, will any one say, that when land is highly cultivated, and made to produce seven-fold more than when it was in a state of common, it will not require more hands to cultivate it, and be more capable of bearing a share of the national burthens, maintain more inhabitants, and secure to the occupiers the ample means of paying incidental expences, as to rent and charges, whilst the commodities produced are thus more abundant, and are brought to market at a moderate price. I am inclined to believe, that in a great degree the present high price of

butcher's meat may be truly attributed to the uncultivated condition of commons and waste lands throughout the kingdom, and the general disregard to the breed of cattle. When the society remark, that no one is a sufferer by the loss of sheep upon commons, because the land upon which they are maintained bears no rent, they cannot but recollect, that the community is interested in the loss of such animals; for whatever numbers are destroyed, and not brought to market, are so many in diminution of the general stock by which the community is to be supported; consequently the supply must be the less, and the commodity the dearer; in short, the community is deeply interested that every acre of land in this kingdom should be cultivated, and made to produce the most it is capable of; and it would be too hardy in any one to say, that the expence of cultivating our land would not be abundantly repaid by the production of corn and cattle; for if the argument the society seem chiefly to rest upon, *viz.* "It is not the plenty, or scarcity, which makes an article dear for any long continuance of time, because the price depends
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“on the necessary charges and expences in
 “the production of it,” *has any weight, it
 must be allowed to be as applicable to the lands
 already inclosed as it is to such lands of the same
 original quality, which are now in a waste,
 or open state; and thus the language of the
 society appears in plain English to be, leave off
 the cultivation and improvement of your land;
 if it is less productive than it otherwise would
 be, your expences will be the less. The society
 not having fixed upon any certain quantity of
 land which is necessary for the inhabitants of this
 kingdom to keep in cultivation; and if they had
 so done, they would still want the power of go-
 verning the condition and management of the
 land; and also the seasons, to make the product
 of the soil regular and certain. When we
 consider all the land in the kingdom as a
 common flock, for the support of the com-
 munity, it will appear contrary to one of the
 favourite arguments of the society, “That
 “the cottager’s sheep (as alluded to in the
 “calculation) are maintained at a greater ex-
 “pence than the farmer’s,” because for want
 of due cultivation of the common upon
 which it is maintained, it occupies a larger
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space for its support than would be requisite upon the same soil when better cultivated; making no allowance for the casualties sheep are most liable to, which are supported upon commons, and their degenerate sort and poor condition. Upon an inclosure, where sheep are raised in a thrifty state, they will very nearly attain perfection at two years old, and a considerable advantage must be derived from the quickness of the breeders and graziers return; and though the society lament on this account the diminution of the quantity of wool, on account of killing sheep so young, such pretended loss will never be felt in this kingdom; for I can truly say, that English wool never was a much greater drug than it now is; and after a little time, when the breed of sheep shall be duly improved, the wool will be stronger, heavier, and finer, than it generally is at this time. In opposition to the arguments of the society as to the expence of raising a commodity being the criterion of its price, it must appear, *that wool never was produced at a greater expence than it is at the present time, and yet it was never cheaper.* The remedy for this evil will be the

the inclosing and cultivating our lands with more skill and industry, increasng, and thereby cheapening, the means of support for the manufacturer, and reducing the price of labour. By these means the woollen trade will again flourish; and if the quantity of wool produced in this kingdom was to be for a short time a little less (which I am not clear would be the case under the circumstances alluded to), such temporary reduction of the quantity of wool cannot be set in competition with the advantages to be derived from increasng the value of the animal, and more especially whilst wool abounds; but in the case of diminishing the general quantity of wool, by reducing the quantity of wethers, the quantity of lamb-hogs and their wool would be increased, which is the sort most esteemed by the manufacturers of this country; besides, it might stimulate the breeder to pursue the means of improving his sheep: and when I propose the killing of sheep at two years old, I am not recommending such mutton to the epicure, but to the labourer and manufacturer, who regard not the age, but

but are content, provided they can purchase it cheap and wholesome.

The argument made use of by the society in defence of raising sheep on commons, *viz.* “That they can shift their ground from hill to valley, in order to preserve themselves from the rot, &c.” is extremely futile; because it is well known, that two-thirds of the convertible commons in this kingdom are in flat situations, as if such land was rejected by the first inclosers or cultivators on account of their wet situations; and when the society advance, that sheep will quit a good pasture for a bad one, I hope they do not mean to insinuate, that they will stay as long upon bad land as upon good; and that sheep having it at their option to take either, will do no more upon the bad pasture than rove over it, and pick out a little of the best herbage. The weight of cattle and sheep bred upon land when inclosed, if duly managed, will abundantly exceed those bred and maintained upon commons; and they will possess an advantage from being better reared and maintained (if chosen with tolerable skill) in a manner unknown amongst common field stock, and will
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come to perfection much sooner than those bred upon a common; so that of sheep, a return may be made from the butcher at two years old; and that of a neat beast of the female kind at three years old, when it will produce a calf. Good land, or, in other words, land which bears a great rent, may be profitably applied to the purposes of breeding sheep and cattle, but they must not be of that sort which this society have made their calculations upon; they must be of an improving sort; *and in proportion to the goodness of the land, when properly stocked, will the numbers, or weight, of cattle and sheep be increased.* I must confess, that improvements in the breed of cattle and sheep have made but a very slow progress, not having been carried into effect in more than three or four counties; nevertheless the necessity of it must be every day more apparent; attention will soon be generally paid to the reserved value of cattle, and particularly cows. After the first purposes to which they are applied, care will be taken in the breeding of them, that they shall be the most valuable that can be produced, not only for the pail, but for fattening
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when they have attained their utmost growth; instead of which, I am well assured, that three-fourths of the cows of the dairies in England are continued for such purpose until their natural death happens. The society I am sure will agree with me, *that it would influence the price of butcher's meat not a little, if the measure was to be adopted of selling off or feeding cows, when they arrive at the age of seven or eight years, and filling up their places with those of three years old.* There are, and always will remain, large tracts of land uncultivated in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, which, being applied to the purposes of breeding and maintaining cattle and sheep, will greatly assist in supplying our markets with lean cattle; and for the rest we must make it up by improving the breed of every kind at home. The general difuse of oxen in agriculture has been certainly a cause of raising the price of lean oxen, and indeed it is not so pleasant an animal as an horse for the uses of agriculture, it being too heavy and slow upon strong land, and abundantly too slow upon light soils; nevertheless it would be proper

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per to encourage the use of the ox, especially upon light soils, where much treading is beneficial; for three reasons, first, as to its reserved value for fattening, when turned out from a farmer's use; secondly, as it would be some little assistance in lessening the consumption of oats, as the land which produces them for draught horses may be applied to the purposes of grazing; thirdly, that manual labour would be increased thereby, and of course population encouraged; because a team of oxen can perform but little more than half as much ploughing *per* day as a team of horses; consequently more ploughmen and drivers would be necessary; but, upon the whole, in speaking of the interest of a farmer, I should conceive, where he keeps an improving stock of horses, that such would be more profitable than oxen. The society in part attribute the high price of butcher's meat to the number of horses bred and maintained in this kingdom for luxury, and for exportation; judging that the land upon which they are brought up would be more properly applied to the maintenance of neat beasts and sheep; and that the land, on which
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the abundant quantity of oats for their support is produced, might be more profitably laid down in pasture; and probably there may be some truth in it; but when, on the other hand, we consider that horses, maintained as is said for luxurious purposes, are the means of inviting gentlemen to pursue their sports, and travels about the country to circulate their money, it may have but little weight. If it is found that the exportation of horses increases, it will certainly be attended to by the legislature, and either a large duty upon them will be enforced, or such exportation will be prohibited; indeed, almost every evil seems to have its opposite good, and it requires a very nice share of judgment to weigh them fairly. But I will be bold to say, that if gentlemen of landed property will unite in the pursuit of inclosing and cultivating every acre of soil in this kingdom which is capable of it, and of improving the breed of cattle * of all sorts, prosperity and riches may

* By the advantages to be derived from improving the breed of cattle and sheep, in attending to that inherent principle in some animals, the aptitude to become fat, the
quantity

may yet be derived to this country. I cannot refrain from giving it as my opinion, that the principal causes of the high price of butcher's meat are, first, that manufactures and commerce have been more encouraged than agriculture; secondly, an increased population and general luxury; and, lastly, the want of a general inclosure, and the better cultivation of the lands already inclosed.

7thly, That wool, the staple commodity of the kingdom, is injured by inclosure.

It must be admitted, that where sheep are constantly bred and maintained the wool will be of different degrees, fine or coarse, according to the quality of the pasture; and upon inclosed land, where the quality of the herbage is improved by manuring, or the production of artificial grasses, and (unlike common fields) the land is not overstocked, wool will be produced of a coarser sort than in common fields, where, from the poorness quantity of tallow produced in this kingdom will be greatly increased, which will go a great way towards removing the necessity of importing large quantities of that article, so necessary in our manufactories, from Russia, &c. In which commerce the balance of trade is unquestionably against us.

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and scantiness of the herbage, the animal is for the most part in a state of starving; yet this evil may be remedied, by due attention in the breeder to the culling of his stock, the fattening or selling off his sheep with coarse fleeces, and preserving those of the finest sorts of wool; for in every flock of sheep there are those of very different qualities in their fleeces, notwithstanding every precaution is taken in chusing rams with fleeces of desirable sorts, and changing them every year, or every two years at farthest, which should be done with particular regard to the excellence of the carcase; whoever wishes for ocular proof of this, may be convinced by calling upon Mr. Bakewell, of Dishley, in Lincolnshire, who, when heavy wool bore a good price, produced his sheep with such fleeces; and now, when heavy wool is cheap, and not much demanded by the manufacturers, he produces it of a fine sort, which, owing to his mature judgment, is superior in strength and quality to the fine wool that is produced by the animal's being constantly poorly kept.

Notwithstanding this resource, there will always be found in these islands large quantities

ties of fine wool produced from lands which most probably never will be inclosed or improved, such as many heaths and downs in Wales, Scotland, and in different parts of England and Ireland, to answer the material purposes of the manufacture of fine cloths; but, notwithstanding such production of fine wool in this kingdom, it has not been found fine enough to manufacture cloth for the backs of many of the growers of English wool, without a mixture of that imported from Spain. Englishmen seem to be growing deaf to the voice of reason and truth, inasmuch as but little or no notice is taken of the means of salvation, when held out to their view. Far be it from me to presume, that any hints which may fall from my feeble pen can work the least reformation in this respect; but I will venture to assert, we have it in our power to grow wool in this kingdom fine enough to manufacture at least as good broad cloths as England could ever boast of with all her foreign aids; and I cannot but commend the very laudable efforts of a body of public-spirited gentlemen and ladies in Lincolnshire, who not long since

came to the resolution of wearing no other apparel than such as was manufactured from the wool of their own country; yet this bright, this commendable example, has not been followed by any other class of gentry in the kingdom. An example so pregnant with every national good (as an encouragement of our staple manufacture must be) wants, I would hope, only to be laid in its proper colours before the first Personages in this kingdom, to secure their patronage, which would insure the most heart-felt satisfaction to their grateful and loyal people. And were the good effects that might be produced to this nation, from sleeping in beds manufactured from the wool of our country, once pointed out to an exalted Female Character in a just and proper manner, it would no doubt be productive of the most salutary effects. If the necessity of such encouragement is not now seen by all the gentlemen of landed property, the inexperienced must first feel it; as, according to the present system of things, their lands will be daily falling into their hands much impoverished, and then sad experience will bring them self-conviction; nevertheless,
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it is but reasonable to hope, that, as our accumulating taxes bear so very hard upon the country, every effort will be used to improve and preserve its internal strength and resources.

8thly, That if it were granted, that inclosures would be more productive than common fields, an increase of the produce of the country would have no market.

It must be admitted, that if the product of the country was to be increased without increasing population, or opening a new or larger channel for the disposal of the articles of national production, a stagnation must be the consequence; but, whilst such increased product is the growth of our own soil, population must inevitably rise in consequence of it; and should the soil, by means of a better mode of cultivation, become more productive, and the articles of consumption be reduced in price, the value of labour would inevitably fall also in a certain degree, without reducing the rental of the land, and we should shortly be enabled to furnish foreign markets with all our manufactures on more reasonable terms than our competitors abroad.

It is for the good of the community, that labourers and artificers should be under the necessity of filling up the whole of their time in an industrious pursuit of daily subsistence; as it is too evident, that, if those classes of most necessary people could be supported by the exertions of only half their days in labour, the other half would most probably be spent in idleness and debauchery. This may be exemplified by looking into village ale-houses on a Sunday, which are for the most part filled with labourers and mechanics; who, instead of attending a place of public worship, and applying the whole of their earnings to the support and comfort of their wives and families, indulge in riotous excess. This crying evil stands foremost in the list of our public calamities, and calls aloud for the interference of the legislature, either to put in force the now-subsisting laws respecting the regulation of public-houses, or to frame others more effectual in their stead.

With regard to foreign markets, to take off the superabundant produce of this country, in corn, spirits, salted meats, starch, or cattle, no reasonable objection can be made
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against their being supplied with our superfluities, except in times of war, when it might be perhaps impolitic to feed our enemies, and to fight them afterwards.

With regard to our manufactures, it is the main object of our hopes, that our wool should be demanded for exportation; and why not articles of a more perishable nature, when the country abounds?

It has often happened in this country, that poverty has worn the face of plenty; and, in consequence thereof, those intrusted with the regulations of commerce have been deceived: for instance, our markets for corn have been glutted between Michaelmas and Christmas, when the necessitous farmers have been driven to bring most of their grain to market, by which means a very considerable part of the produce of the country has either fallen into the hands of speculators and monopolizers, or the ports have been opened for exportation. The Dutch have purchased and granaried our corn within their own country, where the interest of money is comparatively low, until a scarcity has happened here; when our ports have been opened for impor-

tation, and the same grain has been returned to us, at a very advanced price.

It has been an argument, constantly urged by those who were prejudiced against all inclosures, that the small farmer was always obliged, from necessity, to bring his grain to market, whilst the large farmer hoarded his to produce a scarcity.

It must be admitted, that either extreme is productive of mischief; for the country is never so well and properly supplied as when grain is brought to market upon an average of quantity and price; but the consequence of the large farmer hoarding or keeping up his grain holds no comparison with the evil resulting from the small farmer, out of necessity, glutting the markets with his; which either falls into the hands of a few speculators, under the appellation of merchants, to be dealt out with a sparing hand at an advanced price; or is exported, and afterwards probably returned to us again damaged, and certainly enhanced in price; for whilst the grain is hoarded in the hands of wealthy farmers in this country, at least the expences of carriage and freight in foreign bottoms are saved,

saved, which must materially affect the consumer, in case the grain has been exported and returned; besides, the legislature might compel the bringing-out of the grain if an artificial scarcity was to be produced in the country by the farmer's hoarding it. And it is certainly attended with much less injury to the community, that individuals who expend their grain in our own country should be enriched by holding a balance between the merchant who buys for exportation and the consumer, than others whose views have not the same tendency, and whose property is not so applied.

In bringing agriculture up to the level of manufactures and commerce, probably the wisdom of the legislature will so far regulate the price of grain as to fix it at a certain average, lower than which it cannot fall; in which case government, by means of proper agents, should become purchasers, and deposit it in granaries appointed in various parts of this kingdom for that purpose. Surely this would be a far better plan, than opening the ports for exportation when grain is very low in price, which probably may not proceed so much

much from the extreme produce, as from the extreme poverty, of the country.

9thly, That the inclosure of commons and waste lands is pernicious to society.

The inclosure of commons and waste lands, upon which arable common fields are not dependent, I must consider under two several heads :

1st, Commons as occupied by cottagers, and farmers of inclosed lands contiguous thereto.

2dly, As waste land, heath, and forest, or such upon which the occupation of other lands is not dependent.

With regard to the first, it is a notorious truth, that where commons are stocked without stint, the farmers or occupiers of contiguous inclosed lands generally overstock them, and particularly with sheep, the bite of which animal being much nearer the ground than that of a neat beast, the cottager's cow is starved ; besides, the cottagers, being generally unprovided with inclosed lands, are deprived of the means of maintaining a cow in the winter, from which circumstance they are either driven to the necessity of disposing of
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of it as the winter approaches (a season in which it would doubtless be most serviceable to their families), or must be content to stock their commons with sheep, if they have the means of deriving any benefit at all from them; but even this advantage they are too frequently deprived of, for the same reason which operates with respect to their maintaining a cow in winter, most commons being but very indifferent layers for sheep in the winter season, as they generally stand in need of draining; and, therefore, keeping sheep is a business of adventure with the poor cottagers, and seldom adopted by them; many of the rich and extensive commons in Lincolnshire (which, if inclosed, would let for thirty or forty shillings *per* acre, although they are subject to the inconveniences I have pointed out) the cottagers generally stock with geese.

Viewing the subject in a true and impartial light, it cannot remain a doubt but that the rights of the cottagers are trampled upon by the occupiers of contiguous lands, who can always shift their stock upon or from their commons, as best suits their convenience.

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But if every advantage could be derived from commons which the most zealous for their continuance can point out, and the cottagers could be supported by keeping a few cows and sheep, its attendant evil would be, that virtuous industry would in a certain degree cease, and be supplanted by idleness. It is by industry alone that the lower classes of people can be kept virtuous, and riches and population be derived to the country.

Upon the inclosure of a common, the cottager would receive his share of the land contiguous to his cottage, which, instead of supporting him in a degree of idleness, would stimulate his industry to cultivate it in the production of potatoes, corn, or hemp, or (if extensive enough) herbage for a cow; which business, as he will be accustomed to industrious pursuits, may be carried on at intervals before or after those hours of labour for which he is paid by the neighbouring farmer; a situation far more beneficial to him than lounging over two or three thousand acres to hunt up his cow, his ass, or his sheep.

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2dly, The second head, under which I have proposed to take into consideration the ninth objection before stated, is, waste land, heath, and forest, or such upon which the occupation of other land is not dependent.

That the community must be benefited by the cultivation of lands which at present do not contribute their due proportion to the general product of the country, nor bear any material share of the burthen of taxes, cannot be controverted, if the measure is set about with due caution. A rumour is gone abroad, that it is intended to apply the crown lands to the purposes of that kind of cultivation to which they are best adapted; the evident advantages to be derived from so salutary a plan cannot fail of meeting the public approbation; especially as this important task appears to proceed with every possible circumspection, and gentlemen of the first abilities have been prevailed on to investigate the subject.

It has been suggested, that a sale of the crown lands to the public will eventually take place; should this be the case, no doubt due care will be taken that the market is not overstocked, and the alienation of private property

perty not suspended thereby : and here I cannot help remarking the great advantage the public will derive from the *growing evil* being checked, *of the landed property falling into the hands of a few*, both with respect to proprietors and occupiers ; but most particularly the latter. Since the commencement of the last war, farms have been gradually increasing in size, from the failure of the small occupiers ; whilst the means of occupation by the larger have also been diminished, to the great injury of private property, and the population and wealth of the community. It is greatly to be hoped, that, if any part of the crown lands should be brought to market, they may be laid out in small parcels, giving all classes of his Majesty's subjects a chance of becoming purchasers, and not be suffered to fall into the hands of overgrown individuals, or jobbers in land, whose first step, generally, in similar concerns, is to cut down all the timber for the purpose of sale, and grind the occupiers and poor dependents. It might be argued, in answer to this, that, as such lands are at present unoccupied, it would be at the option of individuals, whether they
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would become concerned with such people or not ; but it is well known, that mankind are frequently tempted to catch hold of speculative plans, a propensity which too often leads to their ruin ; and from such quarters but little mercy is to be expected.

It is not for me to presume to recommend a plan for the better managing of the crown lands, should they become the property of individuals ; but I must humbly suggest, that, instead of a sale of those lands to private purchasers, it might be far more advantageous to have them allotted, and laid out in farms of different sizes, to actual occupiers, on improving leases, not assignable as in other cases ; to preserve certain tracts of lands now covered with timber, for the use of the navy ; and in all circumstances to make the occupiers covenant to preserve the growth and production of timber, with all other necessary covenants for the improvement of the soil, which persons, well versed in practical husbandry, and the knowledge of different soils, might suggest.

This business, so executed, not encouraging a sort of farmers-general, enjoying enormous pensions,

pensions, and carving out distreffes for mankind, must be productive of much public good.

Particular parts of the land might be brought to sale, if judged in certain cases expedient, when the markets would best answer; and if the officers of his majesty's navy and army, who deserve so highly of their country, were to have the first offers of the occupation of the crown lands, it would not only be a means of retaining them in our country in times of peace, but would be making them some recompence for their past services. Was this plan to be adopted, I am aware such leases must be assignable when those naval or military occupants were summoned to the service of their country; but they might nevertheless devolve to others in the same line, if a sufficient number were unemployed in their country's cause; and, if not, the farms might be held by proper agents during the absence of the worthy tenants, as a comfortable and certain retreat after their respective services become no longer necessary; as the Romans, in a certain æra, were no less distinguished for their domestic application,

application, than for their military prowess; so might the heroes of our country be also distinguished.

That inclosures have most generally been mismanaged, may evidently be seen by their present condition; gentlemen of landed property, having in view by such a measure the immediate increase of their rentals, have, in many instances, hastily set about the business, without maturely considering the nature and properties of the soil to be inclosed; so that in some cases poor, thin-stapled clays have been inclosed, which will not admit of any material alteration from the ancient mode of husbandry, or by any means answer the expences of the business; in other cases, the lands have been laid out in very large farms, and let to persons incompetent to the occupation of them, as well in point of property as in skill to apply the soil to its right use. Want of attention to these very material objects in every new inclosure, that the farms be laid out in different sizes, and each in a square manner, and the buildings placed in as central a situation as possible, has frequently rendered inclosures unprofitable, which would

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otherwise have turned out highly to the benefit of the proprietors and occupiers, and to the community at large. Where the soil is capable of any great improvement, so that the occupier will necessarily be at considerable expence to effect it, he should be indulged with a lease, to make his reimbursement as much a certainty as possible; the rents should be fixed as I have recommended in my "Essay on Agriculture," published in 1785. And where the situation will readily admit of it, lands of different qualities should be allotted together in the same farms, by which they will greatly assist in the improvement of each other.

I now proceed to recommend, that, before any new inclosure is set about, the proprietors consider well whether the soil is of a nature to admit of the cultivation of turnips, coleseed, cabbages, or artificial grasses; or of being converted into pasture land that will increase in goodness of quality, the longer it remains in that state. If the soil is not possessed of any of these properties, the improvement by means of inclosure is doubtful, considering the expences of an act of parliament,

ment, and the other attendant charges. When an inclosure is determined upon, care must be taken that the lands are not cross-cropped, or driven out of heart by successive crops, and the manure of the respective farms wasted, or misapplied, previously to the inclosure taking place; and that persons are appointed commissioners who will rather prevent enormous and unnecessary expences, than incur them.

And I should recommend, that farms are laid out in different sizes, similar to a plan recommended by Mr. Kent; that is, from forty pounds to two hundred pounds *per annum*, making a number of small farms, of different sizes, which are now rendered absolutely necessary from the general poverty of the farmers, which I cannot but attribute to the great prevalency of letting the lands in too large allotments for many years past; whereby farmers in general have, as before observed, been induced to take more land than they had property to stock and manage to the greatest advantage, which has reduced their capitals, and rendered a greater number of small farms necessary.

The general custom of late years has been to reduce the number of farms in all cases, as well in uninclosed as other situations; which has been the worst policy that could be devised for the interests of all who are concerned in them.

If buildings are properly erected, according to the nature and quantity of land to be occupied, it will not cost above forty *per cent.* more to erect buildings upon three farms of eighty pounds *per annum* each, than on one of two hundred and forty pounds *per annum*; which expence cannot be set in competition with the benefits to be derived from having an estate occupied to the greatest advantage, as by such means only the real interests of all concerned can be properly pursued.

It would surely be advisable for the legislature to repeal the tax upon bricks and tiles, as far as relates to the erection of any buildings upon such new inclosures as may take place under the sanction of parliament, since such buildings must evidently promote the population of the country, and the better occupation of the land.

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It ought to be a principal consideration, to discover what kind of wood will best suit the respective soils, and to cultivate it with all possible care.

With regard to the allotment of the cottagers rights upon every new inclosure, it will be advisable to give them their respective shares of land contiguous to their dwellings, when their proportionable shares are small; but, when they are large enough to admit of it, a field should be inclosed for the sole benefit of the cottagers, to be enjoyed by them in common, as herbage for their cows; and where there is a large quantity of meadow land in a new inclosure, each cottager should have a proportionable share of it allotted to him, as a provision for hay for the support of his cattle in winter, as well as a common-right on the meadow at other seasons of the year. Where there is no such meadow in a new inclosure, and the cottagers allotments are sufficiently large, about half of their rights should be allotted adjoining to their dwellings, and the other half remain in the common cottagers field. It is the duty of all commissioners concerned in inclosures, to guard the rights of
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the cottagers from invasion ; for ultimately it is the interest of the larger proprietors, that population should increase, which can only be materially effected by upholding the lower class of people.

It would be advisable for gentlemen to consider, whether it would or would not be productive of good, that each cottager's right should not admit of alienation, at least in parcels ; but, in case of sale, the whole should be conveyed. Although this restriction may not be perfectly consonant to the ideas of the inhabitants of a free country, I am persuaded it would, in many instances, prevent the cottagers frittering away their estates, which is a prevailing practice.

If the few cursory hints I have thrown out should induce others, more competent to the task, to take up the investigation of the subject, I have every reason to expect, and shall glory in the reflection, that the result will add to the prosperity of this ever fertile, though much uncultivated, country.

F I N I S.

Stone, Thomas

Suggestions for rendering the inclosure of common fields and waste lands a
source of population and riches

London 1787

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